

Message Text

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ACTION DHA-02

INFO OCT-01 EA-07 IO-13 ISO-00 SCA-01 AID-05 ORM-02
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NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 /076 W
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FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1688
INFO USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L JAKRTA 7690

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM PORG ICRC ID
SUBJECT: ICRC AND INDONESIA

REF: (A) STATE 133072, (B) JAKARTA 7477, (C) JAKARTA 2450 (NOTAL)
(D) GENEVA 4165

1. SUMMARY. FROM AMBASSADOR'S CONVERSATIONS WITH KOP-KAMTIB CHIEF OF STAFF SUDOMO AND VISITING ICRC DELEGATE-GENERAL NESSI IT IS CLEAR THAT PROBLEMS HAVE ARISEN IN REGARD TO NEXT ICRC VISIT TO INDONESIA. INDONESIANS MENTION COMMENTS ON LAST VISIT PRINTED IN ICRC BULLETIN, ICRC TEAM'S ASKING ABOUT INDIVIDUALS AND LONDON TIMES PUBLICATION OF LETTER FROM DETAINEE, WHICH INDONESIANS BELIEVE MIGHT HAVE BEEN SMUGGLED OUT BY ICRC MEMBER. ICRC ON OTHER HAND SEEKS ASSURANCES THAT PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED IN EARLIER VISITS WILL NOT BE REPEATED. AMBASSADOR EMPHASIZED TO EACH PARTY USG INTEREST IN CONTINUED ICRC VISITS. NESSI IS REQUESTING MEETING WITH SUDOMO, FONMIN MALIK, PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT ALI MURTOPO AND DEFENSE DEPARTMENT INTELLIGENCE CHIEF MURDANI, IN WHICH ICRC-GOI DIFFERENCES CAN HOPEFULLY BE WORKED OUT. END SUMMARY.

2. TO CHECK REPORTS OF ICRC DIFFICULTIES DURING TEAM
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VISIT TO INDONESIA JAN 25-FEB 17 AMBASSADOR MET WITH ADMIRAL SUDOMO JUNE 10. EMBASSY HAD RECEIVED REPORTS FROM ICRC SOURCES CRITICIZING INDONESIANS FOR REMOVING DETAINEES, PARTICULARLY THOSE SPEAKING ENGLISH, FROM DETENTION CENTERS JUST PRIOR TO TEAM'S VISIT, COMPLAINING THAT DETAINEES HAD BEEN ORDERED NOT TO USE ENGLISH WITH THE TEAM, SUGGESTING THAT SOME HAD BEEN INTEIMIDATED TO POINT

THEY WERE AFRAID TO TALK AND NOTING THAT NEW PROVISIONS HAD BEEN DISTRIBUTED JUST BEFORE THE TEAM'S ARRIVAL.

3. SUDOMO COMPLAINED TO AMBASSADOR THAT ICRC TEAM HAD IGNORED HIS EXPLANATION THAT REMOVAL OF PRISONERS WAS DUE TO REHABILITATION OF OTHER FACILITIES AND THAT NEW PROVISIONS WERE EFFORT TO IMPROVE PRISONER' OUTLOOK BEFORE THEIR UPCOMING RELEASE. MORE IMPORTANT, SUDOMO OBJECTED TO THE ICRC PRINTING IN ITS MAY 4 BULLETIN THE OBSERVATION THAT "THE DELEGATES" FINDING COULD NOT BE REGARDED AS INDICATIVE OF THE REAL CONDITIONS OF DETENTION IN INDONESIA FOR TWO REASONS: THE LIMITED NUMBER OF PLACES VISITED AND THE DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED DURING THE VISIT." SUDOMO SAID DETENTION SITES TO BE VISITED HAD BEEN JOINTLY AGREED AND THAT PUBLICATION OF THIS "VERDICT" VIOLATED THE GOI-ICRC UNDERSTANDING THAT THE TEAM'S FINDING WOULD NOT BE PUBLISHED.

4. SUDOMO THEN NOTED THAT TEAM AT OUTSET OF ITS LAST VISIT ASKED THE WHEREABOUTS OF CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS, INCLUDING IN PARTICULAR ALI BUDIARDJO (HUSBAND OF CARMEL BUDIARDJO). THIS WOULD INDICATE, SUDOMO CONTINUED, THAT ICRC IS BEING "INFILTRATED" BY AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL.

5. SUDOMO SHOWED AMBASSADOR COPY OF MAY 18 LONDON TIMES ARTICLE BY DAVID WATTS CAPTIONED "RED CROSS MISSION WAS DECEIVED OVER INDONESIAN PRISON CONDITIONS, SMUGGLED LETTER CLAIMS." SUDOMO SAID HE SUSPECTED THAT RED CROSS TAM WAS EITHER SOURCE OF THIS STORY OR HAD HELPED SMUGGLE DETAINEE'S LETTER OUT OF INDONESIA. AS A RESULT, GOI CONFIDENTIAL

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FELT THAT IT COULD NOT PERMIT IN FUTURE ICRC TO MEET PRIVATELY WITH DETAINEES.

6 FINALLY SUDOMO WAS "EMBARRASSED" BY MAY 28 LETTER WRITTEN BY ICRC PRESIDENT ALEXANDRE HAY DIRECTLY TO PRESIDENT SUHARTO EXPRESSING REGRETS OVER CONDITIONS OF THE LAST ICRC VISIT AND TRANSMITTING A MEMORANDUM LISTING GENERAL CONDITIONS FOR ICRC VISITS. SUDOMO TOOK EXCEPTION TO THIS "OUT OF CHANNELS" COMMUNICATION WITH HEAD OF STATE AND NOTED THAT SOME OF CONDITIONS LAID DOWN IN THE MEMORANDUM WERE UNACCEPTABLE.

7 AMBASSADOR STRESSED US BELIEF THAT ICRC VISIT TO DETENTION CENTERS WERE IN INDONESIAN INTEREST AND HOPE THAT THEY WOULD BE CONTINUED. SUDOMO SEEMED TO AGREE THAT CONTINUED DETENTION CENTER VISITS WOULD BE HELPFUL AND INDICATED HE WOULD WELCOME AMBASSADOR'S DISCUSSING INDONESIAN CONCERNS WITH NESSI. IN RESPONSE TO AMBASSADOR' QUERY, SUDOMO SAID ICRC TEAM WOULD NOT

VISIT RELEASED DETAINEES.

8. SUBSEQUENT TO SUDOMO MEETING, AMBASSADOR MET WITH NESSI, WHO EXPHASIZED ICRC DISSATISFACTION WITH RESTRICTIONS PLACED ON VISITS TO DETENTION CENTERS AND ON SUCH "TRICKS" AS REMOVING DETAINEES FROM CENTERS VISITED. WHILE ADKNOWLEDGING THAT SIMILAR DIFFICULTIES WERE ENCOUNTERED DURING 1971 AND 1974 VISITS, NESSI INDICATED THEY WOULD NO LONGER BE TOLERATED. NESSI SHOWED AMBASSADOR COPY OF PARTICULAR CONDITIONS WHICH ICRC WOULD INIST UPON FOR INDONESIAN VISITS, WHICH WAS ESSENTIALLY AN ELABORATION OF GENERAL CONDITIONS TRANSMITTED IN HAY'S LETTER TO SUHARTO.AMONG THEM WERE PROVISIONS THAT TEAM WOULD HAVE ACCESS TO ALL PLACES OF DETENTION, THAT TRANSFERRED DETAINEES WOULD BE LISTED BY NEW PLACE OF DETENTION THAT INDONESIAN INSPECTION PARTY WOULD NOT OUTNUMBER ICRC, THAT TEAM WOULD BE ABLE

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TO DISTRIBUTE ASSISTANCE DURING OR IMMEDIATELY AFTER VISIT TO DETAINEES AND THEIR FAMILIES, AND THAT INTERPRETERS WOULD BE SELECTED BY THE ICRC TEAM, IF NECESSARY FROM AMONG THE DETAINEES THEMSELVES.

9. NESSI VOLUNTEERED THAT REMARK IN ICRC BULLETIN TO WHICH SUDOMO HAD TAKEN EXCEPTION WAS AN ADDITION TO USUAL AMMOUNCEMENT OF VISITS AND HAD BEEN APPROVED BY ICRC EXECUTIVE COUNCIL AS MEANS OF AVOIDING GIVING IMPRESSION THAT ICRC HAD CONDUCTED SATISFACTROY VISIT. NESSI BELIEVED THAT ICRC TEAM HAD NOT SPECIFICALLY REQUESTED TO SEE ALI BUDIARDJO BUT HAD ASKED WHEREABOUTS OF SEVEN DETAINEES TRANSFERRED FROM JAKARTA CENTER, AMOUNG WHOM WAS BUDIARDJO.

10. NESSI SAID THAT, IN ADDITION TO SUDOMO, HE HAD REQUESTED TO SEE FONMIN ADAM MALIK AND PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANCE ALI MURTOP. WHEN AMBASSADOR STRESSED OUR HOPE THAT GOI AND ICRC WOULD FIND MEANS OF RESUMING DETENTION CENTER VISITS, NESSI NOTED THAT, SINCE CONDITIONS IN INDONESIAN DETENTION CENTERS WERE NOT AT ALL BAD COMPARED TO THOSE OF OTHER COUNTRIES AND SINCE THER WAS NO EVIDENCE OF TORTURE, IT WAS DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND WHY GOI TRANSFERRED PRISONERS AND LIMITED PRIVATE MEETINS. AMBASSADOR NOTED, TOO, THAT GOI HAD AMMOUNCED INTENTION RELEASE DETAINEES WITHIN THREE YEARS.

11. COMMENT: ICRC DIFFICULTIES CONFIRM FEELING WE HAVE HAD IN RECENT WEEKS THAT GOI, DESPITE REITERATED INTENTION OF RELEASING DETAINEES, IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY SENSITIVE TO INTERNATIONAL CRITIICISM

AND ATTENTION TO HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEM. HOPEFULLY,
WE CAN HELP TO GET RELATIONS BETWEEN GOI AND ICRC BACK
ON TRACK BUT IT MAY NOT BE EASY.

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